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No. 4.

TRANSLATION

OF THE

TARIKH-I-SULTAN MAHMUD-I-GHAZNAVI

OR

THE HISTORY OF SULTAN MAHMUD OF GHAZNI

(The text-book for the Higher Standard Examination)

BY

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AND

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QAZI MAHMUD KHAN,

MUNSHI OF PESHAWAR.

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PREFACE.

HAVING been authorized by the Punjab Government to produce a new edition of the Ganj-i-Pakhtu and Tarikh-i-Mahmud-i-Ghaznavi, the text-books for the Lower and Higher Standard Examinations in Pushtu, I have produced translations of each in the hope that a literal translation at a low price will be of use to students of the language.

As the translation adheres to the text as literally as possible, it is necessarily clumsy in style, and in order not to confuse the translation with notes only such words have been interpolated as are required to render the sense intelligible. These are in brackets. The pages noted in the margin refer to the text, both of the Kalid-i-Afghani and of my edition of Ganj-i-Pakhtu and Tarikh-i-Sultan Mahmud-i-Ghaznavi.

LUNDI KOTAL,
KHYBER:
June 1901.

G. ROOS-KEPPEL,
CAPTAIN.

The History of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.

THE collectors of histories have, with auspicious pens, Page 2.
thus written on the pages of their own works, that Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni was a King who had the fortune to be fortunate (both) in (matters of) religion and of (this world), and the fame of his justice and even-handedness had spread on all sides.

And in the work of religious war he had planted the banners of Islam and had pulled up the roots of tyrants.

When he used to start for war, you would say, "This must be a flood which flows equally over hill and dale"; and when he used to seat himself upon (his) throne, a man would think, "This must indeed be the sun whose light shines on great and small (lit. the nobles and the common people).

Wisdom was his, and power and good fortune:
On account of all these he was worthy of a crown and throne.

But in some books it has been seen that this King was Page 3.
very avaricious, but (the accusation) regarding avarice appears to be beyond (the limits of) justice, because to subdue so many countries and to cause so many learned men and famous (poets) to sit in (his) assembly cannot be successfully done without giving away wealth and without bestowing riches.

And it is an evident fact that without (counting) fixed allowances he used to give four lakhs of rupees (a year) to deserving people, and do many kindnesses to them and confer advantages on everyone.

Yes! if these two things are the cause of the King (having a) bad name, it may be so. One, that he hurt the feelings of Firdosi the poet, the other, that towards the end of his life he used to take money from (his) people (by force.)

It is said that the King in outward appearance was not beautiful. One day he looked in a mirror and his face appeared to him to be ugly, so he said to a minister (who was there), "People say that gazing on the King's face improves the sight, and my complexion is such that by looking at it a man's heart becomes sorrowful."

The minister said to him, "What necessity is there for you to beautify your appearance; it is befititng that you should make your habits beautiful so that everyone may love you."

That saying pleased the King greatly, and he acted upon it, and in good habits he reached such a limit (of goodness) that he surpassed all (other) Kings. The father of the King was the Amir Sabaktagin, and his mother was the daughter of a noble of Zabalistan, for this reason he is (sometimes) called "Zabali," as Firdosi the poet has praised him, saying,

age 4.

The Zabali Sultan Mahmud is such an ocean
That its shore no one has seen anywhere·
A pearl from it did not come into my hand:
The ocean is good, but I complain of my fate.

On the night of the Ashura in the year of the Hegira 357 he was born, and Jirjani, has written in (his) book the Minhaj-us-Saraj, that the good fortune of Sultan Mahmud was equal to the good fortune of the Lord of the Faith of Islam, and a moment before his birth the Amir Sabaktagin saw in a dream that from their hearth a great tree sprang up, so (great) that the whole world could find place beneath its shadow. When he awoke from sleep, he was thinking of its interpretation, when suddenly some one brought him

the tidings saying, "Be you fortunate, a son is born to you." The Amir Sabaktagin was very pleased; and on account of that auspicious dream he gave his son the name of Mahmud (*i.e.*, the Fortunate One), and became hopeful of (his attaining) high rank and honour.

Then in a little time the plant of his good fortune gave such a shade that many people sat under its shade, as these couplets of Firdosi bear testimony to the fact.

In the reign of Mahmud the Ghazi, the King.
The sheep and the wolf drink water in one place.
When a boy is first born of his mother
In his cradle he mentions the name of Mahmud.

At that time, by order of the Amir Sabaktagin, he de- Page 6.
stroyed the temple (lit. idol house) of the Hindus which was on the bank of the river Sodra and made his fame (lit. good fortune) equal to the fame of the Lord of the Faith (of Islam).

And in the first year of his reign a mine of gold in the form of a tree appeared from the ground in Seistan, and however much one might dig in it (nothing but) pure good would come out of it, and it was three yards round. Afterwards in the time of Sultan Mas'ud that mine was lost by reason of an earthquake.

Again, when the Sultan was free from his war against his brother, he set his face to Balkh; and on account of this, that the Governorship of Khorasan (which) was his by right, had been entrusted to (one) Baktozan, he sent a messenger to Bokhara to Amir Mansur and explained his dissatisfaction to him.

He gave answer, "I have given you the Governorship of Balkh and Tarmiz and Herat, but Baktozan is a well-wishing man, and without reason to remove him and to dismiss him from office is not proper.

He (*i.e.*, Sultan Mahmud) sent Ab-ul-Hassan of Jammu with many presents to Bokhara, and said to Amir Mansur, "I hope that you will not foul the spring of friendship and sincerity with the earth and rubbish of indifference, and that you will not forget the rights of I and of my father which are incumbent on you, that the thread of friendship may not be torn (asunder) and the foundations of submission may not be undermind."

Page 6. When Ab-ul-Hassan of Jammu reached Bokhara, Amir Mansur decided to make him a minister of his own, and he gave no reply to the Sultan's message.

Sultan Mahmud started in the direction of Nishapur, and when Baktozan understood his object, he went in another direction and sent a petition (relating the whole) of his case to Bokhara.

Amir Mansur was intoxicated with the pride and ignorance and vanity of youth. He collected his force and started for Khorasan and rested nowhere till (he reached) Sarkhas. Although the Sultan knew well that Amir Mansur could not cope with him, yet he feared the reproach and scandal of faithlessness, so he left Nishapur to him and went to Murghab.

It happened that Baktozan, with the connivance of Faik, behaved treacherously; he seized Amir Mansur and pierced his eyes with a needle and blinded him, and seated on the throne his younger brother, whose name was Abd-ul-Malik, and he himself feared the Sultan (and) fled to Merv.

The Sultan started after him and reached Merv.

Baktozan and Faik chose a ruinous course and gave battle to the Sultan in the plain, but victory was in the

destiny of the Sultan. Faik took Abd-ul-Malik with him and went to Bokhara, and Baktozan fled to Nishapur, and some time after he again went to Bokhara to collect his dispersed army.

It chanced that at this time Faik fell ill and died, and Page 7.
Ilak Khan went from Kashgar to Bokhara and slew Abd-ul-Malik with his dependants and exterminated them, and the power of the dynasty of Saman, which had existed for six score years and eight, came to its end.

And Sultan Mahmud became engaged in the government of Balkh and Khorasan. And when (the splendour of) his reign was noised to the four quarters of the world, the Caliph of Bagdad, who was known as Al-Kadir-Billah-Abbasi, sent a robe of honour of great value to the Sultan, such robe of honour as no king had ever sent to another king.

Then in the year 390 of the Hegira, in the month of Miana, he went from Balkh to Herat and from Herat to Seistan, and subjected to his orders Hanif-ben-i-Ahmed, the Governor of that place, then he reached Ghazni. And about that time he started for Hindustan and there captured a few fortresses and then returned. In such a way did he spread the bedding of Justice on the spacious ground that a love to him was born in the hearts of all.

And when Ilak Khan with one blew cleared Mawar-ul-Nahr of the descendants of Saman, he sent a letter of victory and conquest to the Sultan and congratulated him on (his accession to) the kingdom of Khorasan. For this reason a firm friendship was engendered between the two kings.

And Sultan Mahmud sent one Ab-ul-Taiab, whose name was Sahal (who) was the son of Suleman Maluki, and (who) was the Preacher of the Traditions of the Prophet, as an envoy to Ilak Khan in order to arrange for the marriage of Page 8.

one of his princesses. And he sent with him various de scriptions (of presents such as) sapphires and costly rubie and necklaces of pearls, and eggs of ambergris, and vessels c gold and silver filled with scents and camphor, and other pre sents from Hindustan, plants of aloes, and watered swords and war elephants caparisoned and equipped so that th eyes of the spectators would become dazzled, and swift horse with golden saddles on them.

When the Imam Ab-ul-Taiab reached the land of Tur kestan, the people of that country, who had mostly becom Musalmans in the time of Ilak Khan, showed him muc respect and honour and politeness.

And he was detained at Orkand until Ilak Khan gav permission for an audience. After this he brought into th King's presence that pearl after which he had dived in th sea of Turkestan, together with the costly goods of tha country, with pure gold and silver, and with slave girls fron Khita and the milk faced ones of Khotan, together witl ermine and sables, together with other presents. After tha for a long time friendship and affection increased betwee the Sultan and Ilak Khan, until by reason of the evil eye o the time and through the exertions of slanderers their friend ship and affection was changed into enmity and malice, a will shortly be recounted, if it please God Almighty.

Page 9. And Sultan Mahmud, on account of this that he had saic that " whenever I am at leisure from the affairs of my king dom " I will spend most of my time in going to Hindustan and wage a Holy War, determined in the month of the lesser Id in the year 391 of the Hegira, to set out from Ghazni fo Hindustan, and came to Peshawar with ten thousand troopers And Jaipal came and prepared to fight him with twelve thou sand mounted men, thirty thousand infantry, and three

hundred elephants, and joined battle with him on Monday, the 8th of the month of Hassan-Hussain, in the year 392 of the Hegira.

Sultan Mahmud behaved bravely and victory fell to him, so he become famous as a Ghazi; and he captured Jaipal with fifteen men, who were some his sons and some his relations, and he killed five thousand Hindus and brought back much plunder. And he took from the necks of those prisoners sixteen necklaces, and those necklaces are called in the Hindi language "Mala," and people fixed the price of each necklace at one lac and eighty thousand gold mohurs.

Then the King went from Peshawar to Phanda and brought that country (also) under his rule.

And as soon as it was spring he pardoned Jaipal and the other prisoners, after they had agreed to pay him tribute, and released them from imprisonment. And he killed many powerful Pathans, and made some his servants and took them with him to Ghazni.

The custom of the Hindus is any raja who is twice defeated by the Musalmans, or taken prisoner, is not again fit to rule, and his sin cannot be expiated without fire. So for this reason Jaipal made his son, whose name was Anandpal, king and threw himself into a fire and was burnt. And Sultan Mahmud in the month of Hassan-Hussain, in the year 393 of the Hegira, went again to Seistan and that time he brought Hanif to Ghazni. Page 10.

Then again a desire for Hindustan took birth in his heart. In the year 395 of the Hegira he started in the direction of the city named Bhatia, and when he had traversed the boundaries of Multan he camped there. And in that city there was so great a fort that the bird vulture

could not reach its summit, and round it there was such a moat that the sight of the strongest sighted could not reach its bottom. The name of the raja of that place was Baji Rao, and because of his many elephants and troops he was so proud that neither did he care for the nobles of Amir Sabaktagin, nor did he submit to Jaipal.

When Sultan Mahmud in order to crush him led his army out, he assembled his troops and drew it up in lines parallel to the army of Islam. The two armies fought together for three days, but the Musalmans appeared to the King to weaken; so on the fourth day he gave an order, Page 11. "To-day will be the royal battle, let old and young, servants and followers all equip themselves, so that they may be present on the field (of battle) to fight for Faith."

And when Raja Baji Rao learnt this plan, he went to his idol house and prostrated himself before the idols and begged help from them, and with noise and coercion he drove (all) the Hindus out of the city, and they placed themselves on the field of battle.

Then the nobles of Islam struck their hands to their swords and spears and all together charged the infidels. From dawn till sunset they fought together, and on every side mounds of dead were standing and streams of blood were flowing, but no sign of weakness was visible on either side.

The Sultan then raised his hands to the presence of God, and he brought the holy soul of the Prophet, on whom be peace, as his intercessor and himself charged into the midst of the (enemy's) army. He broke the infidel host and besieged Baji Rao and gave orders to fill up the moat.

When he had nearly filled up the moat with stones, clods of earth, thornbushes, and shrubs, Baji Rao was

confounded. He left his army in the fight and together with a few special men came down from the fort and fled to a jungle among the forests on the banks of the Indus.

When the Sultan heard of this he sent a force of brave soldiers after him and they surrounded him in that very jungle. When Baji Rao could find no way of escape he quickly drew a dagger from his belt and struck it with great fury into his breast. The Ghazis came up with him, they cut off his head and went off with it to the Sultan, and with their unsparing swords they struck to the ground the heads of the companions of Baji Rao and made a heavy slaughter. Page 12.

Eighty elephants and slaves and much plunder and property came into their hands, and that city together with the surrounding country acknowledged the rule of the Sultan, and he with victory and conquest returned to Ghazni.

Then again in the year 396 of the Hegira the Sultan decided to subdue Multan, and he gave orders to the leaders of the army saying, "Sheikh Hamid Lodi, Governor of Multan, used to be loyal to Amir Sabaktagin and would not free himself from his service, but after him his grandson, Ab-ul-Fateh, whose name was Daud, the son of Nasir, the son of Sheikh Hamid, and who was a heretic, at first behaved himself according to the habit of his father and grandfather and counted himself among the servants of the Sultan, but when the Sultan's army was occupied at Bhatia bad news was heard of him and improper deeds were commenced to be done by him."

The King that year, by reason of some design (pretended to) take no notice and said nothing, but next year he determined to take his revenge.

Page 13. It appears from the writings of the Zain-ul-Akhbar that in order that he should misunderstand (his intention), he left that road and went by another road. And Anandpal, son of Jaipal, was stationed on the road to stop the passage of the King's army, but he was crushed (and) fled to Cashmere. And it is said in the history of Alfi that at the time when Ab-ul-Fateh learnt of the coming of the Sultan he sent a man to Anandpal and asked him for help.

Anandpal (in order) to assist Ab-ul-Fateh, went from Lahore to Peshawar and sent a few (of his) nobles on ahead to obstruct the road of the Sultan, in order that the Sultan should be prevented from marching to Multan.

The King in great wrath gave orders to his army to destroy the cities of Anandpal. The army attacked simultaneously and threw into confusion the nobles of Anandpal in Peshawar. And when Anapal learnt this he fled, and the army of the Sultan was still thus pursuing him when he reached the limits of Sodra on the banks of the Chenab, and then he got frightened (and) turned his face to Cashmere. The Sultan did not go after him (but) started for Multan for his own affairs.

When Ab-ul-Fateh saw that the rajas of India could do nothing, he shut himself (and his followers) up in a fort and made (lit. displayed) entreaties and excuses, and promised that year by year he would send twenty thousand gold mohurs for (the King's) service and would promulgate the laws of the Sheriat and renounce the religion of the heretics.

Page 14. The Sultan besieged Multan for some days, but on this peace he gave him a binding promise and pardoned the Governor of Multan. Again, when he was (occupied) in preparations for his return, it chanced that envoys from Arsalan Jazib, who was Governor of Herat, reached him and informed the

Sultan of the (advance of the) army of Ilak Khan. The Sultan with all haste entrusted the affairs of Bhatinda to Sakpal, who was the son of a (certain) raja of Hindustan, and at the hands of Abu Ali Samjuri had become a Musalman, and was also named Absar, and he (himself) went to Ghazni.

And the account of the case of Ilak Khan was thus: For a long time the Sultan and Ilak Khan were as friendly as the ties of father-in-law and son-in-law (befitted) to such an extent as has already been mentioned, until, on account of the mischief of intriguers and by reason of the efforts of slanderers that friendship was changed into enmity.

And when the Sultan started towards Multan and there were no warriors (lit. wrestlers) left in the plains of Khorasan, Ilak Khan saw his opportunity (lit. found leisure) and determined to subdue that country. He sent Siyawashtagin, who was the commander of his army, with a great army to Khorasan, and he appointed Jafartagin as Governor in the capital of Balkh. Arsalan Jazib, Governor of Herat, learnt of this occurrence and went from Herat to Ghazni in order to protect the throne of the kingdom And a party of the chiefs of Khorasan, by reason of the long absence of the Sultan, joined Ilak Khan. When the Sultan reached Ghazni, he collected an army like the people of the Day of Resurrection, and marched to Balkh, and when Jafartagin learnt of the coming of the Sultan, he fled from Balkh to Tirmiz. Page 15.

And Arsalan Jazib, by the order of the Sultan, went from Herat in pursuit of Siyawashtagin and started towards Mawar-ul-Nahr.

Ilak Khan asked help from Kadar Khan, King of China, (and) Kadar Khan with 5,000 men started to the assistance of Ilak Khan, (and) Ilak Khan with the help of Kadar Khan crossed the River Jainhun, and when (only) twelve kos of road remained to Balkh the army of the Sultan faced them.

The Sultan himself arranged the lines of his army. He entrusted the centre to his younger brother Amir Nasir-ud-din, Governor of Jarjan and Abu Nasr Fariun and Abdulla Tai. The right wing he entrusted to Altun Tash Hajib, and appointed Arsalan Jazib to the (command of the) left wing with other Pathan nobles.

And with five hundred elephants, like mountains, he made a citadel in front of his line. And on the other side Ilak Khan himself stood in the centre of his army; and
Page 16. appointed Kadar Khan to the right wing and stationed Jafartagin on his left. Then both armies, like two rivers of mercury, faced one another, and by the noise of (the trampling of) their horses made the abode of the earth quake; and with the dust of the hoofs of their horses they made the plain of the sky dark; and the fire of struggle and battle they kindled with the blast of the (their) attacks.

On the other side Ilak Khan himself became engaged in the battle, and on this the Sultan dismounted from his horse and bowed his head in prostration before the Pure God and raised the hands of prayers and entreaty and placed reliance on the favour of the most kind God, and he mounted a fierce elephant and led a charge against the army of Ilak Khan. It happened that the Sultan's elephant seized the standard bearer of Ilak Khan with his trunk and dashed him on the ground; after that he came to the lines of the Turks and destroyed many of them. When the Ghazis saw that the Sultan himself had entered the field of battle, then involuntarily they rushed forward together and drew their swords and killed many Turks in that moment. Kadar Khan, panic-stricken, hopeless of life, fled by tricks and stratagem from the battle, and when he had crossed the waters of the Jaihun, he rested nowhere until he reached his own country, and never again had a thought of Khorasan.

In the history of Yamani it is written that the Sultan after the flight of Ilak Khan pursued the broken army, but it was winter there (and) the cold was limitless (and) no one had strength (to endure it). Most of the nobles desired that they should not pursue the routed army, but as the Sultan was himself exerting himself, they had, whether they liked it or not, to go two marches after them. On the third night they camped in a desert. The whole night snow fell and the cold showed its severity beyond limit, and for the Sultan they pitched a big tent and placed many brasiers in it (and) made the tent so warm that most of the people (in it) were ready to throw off their clothes on account of the heat. Page 17.

At that moment Wulchak came in at the door of the tent. The Sultan said to him as a joke, "Go, Wulchak, and say to the Cold outside why do you die, and why owing to extreme cold are you at the point of death; we here are ready indeed to take off our clothes on account of the heat."

Wulchak instantly went out and came in again at once and said, "I gave the King's gracious message to the Cold, and he says although my hand cannot reach the Sultan and the Sultan's nobles, yet I will so serve his other servants that to-morrow the Sultan and his nobles and chiefs will (have to) attend to their horses themselves, and you will see no failure in that service of mine." The Sultan, although outwardly he treated these words as a jest, yet in his heart he repented him of his design and decided to return.

It chanced that that very night news came from Hindustan that Absar had become a renegade and had returned to his original religion, and (as) he saw the field open to him, he had driven out all the officials of the Sultan. Page 1.

The Sultan on the morrow turned the reins of his intentions towards the plains of Hindustan, and started to make the journey by regular marches, and sent on first those nobles who were in receipt of free grants of land in Hindustan.

They seized Absar and brought him to the Sultan's audience hall. The Sultan took from him four lakhs of rupees and bestowed them on Tagin, his treasurer. And he put him (*i. e.*, Absar) in prison and he died there. And the Sultan then returned to Ghazni (and) reclined upon the bed of comfort and was at ease.

Once more in the year 399 of the Hegira, he collected his army, and with the intention of revenging himself upon Anandpal, who had been disrespectful to him in the Multan campaign, he marched to Hindustan.

When Anandpal learnt of this, he asked help from the (other) rajas of Hindustan. As to the Hindus, a war with Musalmans appeared to be a meritorious act, then all the rajas, willingly or unwillingly, collected together to such an extent that the Rajas of Ujjain and Gwalior and Kalinjar and Kanauj and Delhi and Ajmir, all came to his assistance and started for the Punjab with their respective armies. And as they had collected in the time of Amir Sabaktagin, the army
Page 19. of this time was far greater than that; and they came together with Anandpal to the plains of Peshawer.

Forty days they lay in face of the Sultan, but no one of either army advanced to battle. But the army of the infidels increased day by day, and from every side people continued to come to it to such an extent that the infidels of Kakhar also joined them in that expedition.

And they made such efforts in this war that the infidel women used to sell their ornaments and send (money for) expenses after their husbands, so that their males might be free to fight. And the woman who had no means would spin the wheel and labour and send (money for) expenses to the army.

When the Sultan realized that this time the infidels were with great single-mindedness preparing themselves for battle, he dug a trench on both sides of the army and prepared for battle. Then he sent 1,000 archers in front (and) they with tricks and stratagem excited the infidel army and drew them after them, until they had brought the infidel army close to their own. And the Musalmans with great unanimity occupied themselves in repelling the infidels.

And in spite of the great precautions of the Sultan, an army of 30,000 of the infidels of Kakhar, just in the crisis of the battle, crossed the trenches on either side and penetrated to the midst of the cavalry and used their pikes, swords and daggers and knocked over many men and horses, to such an extent (indeed) that in the twinkling of an eye they made martyrs of 4,000 men. Indeed, things came to such a pitch that the Sultan was ready even on account of the Kakhars to leave the field and stop the battle. By chance the elephant of Anandpal got frightened at the noise of the guns and the smell of powder (and) fled. The army (of the Hindus) thonght that the rajas had taken to flight, so all spread the (news of their) defeat (and fled). Page 20.

Abdulla Tai, with five or six thousand Arab troops, and Arsalan Jazib, with 2,000 Turk, Pathan and Ghilzai troopers for two nights and days pursued the broken army, killed eight thousand infidels, and brought back thirty elephants and much plunder and presented themselves before the Sultan. The Sultan after this, to make firm the religion of the

Prophet determined (to wage) a holy war against the infidels of Nagarkot, and to destroy their idol-houses and started. And at that time that fort was famous as the fort of Bhim, (and) when the Sultan reached it, he ordered it to be besieged, and killed many people in the neighbourhood. And that fort had been constructed in the time of Raja Bhim on the top of a hill, and the Hindus called it Makhzan-ul-Asnam or the " Treasury of the Idols " and the rajas of (all) countries used to send there gold and silver and pearls and rubies and coral and other riches, and in doing so they consdered it to be an advantage for both worlds. For this reason so great wealth was collected in that fortress that in the treasury of king were so much riches collected. Page 21.

And as that fort was empty of brave men, and there was no one in it except Brahmans, then naturally their minds were seized with panic, and raised cries to the skies for mercy. And on the third day they opened the doors of the fort, and the Brahmans came and saluted Sultan

Then the Sultan with a few special men entered the fort. Seven lakhs of gold mohurs and eight hundred maunds of gold and silver vessels and two hundred maunds pure gold and two thousand maunds of virgin silver and twenty maunds of assorted jewels which had been collected there since the time of Bhim and had come into the possession of the civil officers, all fell to the Sultan, and after this the Sulan returned to Ghazni.

And in the year 400 of the Hegira the Sultan when out of the city and placed thrones of gold and silver in the Hall of Audience, and turned out into (and arranged) in the plain (all) the plunder which had fallen into his hands during his (last) journey, and many people from the city and from the

Note.—One lakh=100,000. One maund=82 pounds.

(surrounding) villages came to see the spectacle. And this crowd of people remained collected together for three days, and enjoyed themselves in various ways. And he distributed that wealth among pious and poor men and pleased the hearts of the people. Page 22.

And in the year 401 of the Hegira he led his army to Ghor. Muhammad Ben-Suri, ruler of that country, came out with ten thousand mounted men to fight the Sultan, and the battle raged from the time of sunrise until midday, and the Ghoris behaved with great bravery.

When the Sultan saw their bravery he gave orders and led his amry back as a trick. The Ghors thought that the Sultan was routed and emerged from their trenches and pursued him. When they reached the middle of the plain the Sultan issued (fresh) orders and (his) soldiers faced about and slew many of the Ghoris and brought Muhammad Ben-Suri a prisoner to the Sultan. But he from (excessive) grief licked a poisoned stone (which he had in his ring) and died in the Sultan's presence, and that country also was included in the possessions of the Sultan.

And in the history of Yamani it is witten that the rulers of Ghor and the subjects of that place had not until then consented to (embrace) the faith of Islam. But the author of the Tabkat Nasiri and Mubarak Shah Rozi, who wrote the history of the kings of Ghor in verse, have said that the Ghoris had become Musalmans in the time of the Caliphate of the Commander of the Faithful Ali-ben-Abi-Talib, may God be pleased with him; and 'in time of the Bani-Umayad, (when) all Musalmans had spoken improperly against the Page 23. descendants of the Prophet, on whom be peace, in the country of Ghor (alone) no one said anything (of the sort) and of this reason that country is proud above all (other) countries.

Again in the same year the Sultan went a second time from Ghazni to Multan, and he conquered that place by force and conquest, and slew many of the Karamat (sect) and (other) heretics and cut off the feet and hands of many and brought Daud ben Nasir alive a captive, and took him with him to Ghazni and confined him in the fort of Ghor, and in that place he died.

And in the year 402 of the Hegira a longing for holy war again was born (in his mind) and he started for Thanesar, which is one of the countries of Hindustan, because some one had said to him that "Thanesar is, in the opinion of the Hindus, God forbid, the comparison, in honour equal to Mecca the Great, and that in it there is an ancient idol-house in which the Hindus have made many idols, and the great idol among them (all) is called Jagsum, and this is the belief of the infidels that when the world was born that idol was born with it."

And when the Sultan reached the land of Punjab then by reason of this that he had made a promise to Anandpal
Page 24. that he would do him no harm he first sent men to him and said: "Anandpal know that my intention is to go to Thanesar, It is befitting you that you should send a few tustworthy men of your own with our army that there may be no hardship or oppression (practised) on the people of your country.

Anandpal in his own interest quickly prepared a great entertainment and called (all) the merchants of his country, and ordered them to give gratis flour and ghi, oil, salt, vessels, wood, everything which would be required by the king's army, and that they should not demand (even) a pice or a pie from anyone. And he sent, under his own brother, two thousand cavalry for the king's service, and wrote to him, "I am your slave and attendant, whatever your order may be I am ready (to obey); but this

is my petition, that Thanesar is the place of worship of the people of this country, and (even) if in the religion of the Musalmans it is (considered) a meritorious act to break idols that (meritorious) work was accomplished in the breaking of the idols of Nagarkot. Now if the King will accept (as compensation) the cost of his coming and will fix upon those people a yearly tax and will return without molesting them, I also will, as a thankoffering that my prayer has been granted, send to (the King's) durbar every year fifty elephants and many kinds of offerings"

The Sultan gave answer: "In the religion of the Musalmans it is (laid down that this is) a meritorious act that any one who may destroy the place of worship of the heathen he will reap great reward on the day of judgment, and my intention is to remove entirely idols from the cities of Hindustan. How then can I prevent myself from going to Thanesar." Page 25.

In short, this news reached the Raja of Delhi, (and he prepared himself to war with the Musalmans and sent messengers to every part of Hindustan, and said to the Rajas: "Sultan Mahmud, with a great army, has started for Thanesar. Now if to this great flood we do not oppose by a strong dam, then it will be soon that he will not leave the plant of wealth, of small or great, in the plain of this country. It is therefore better that we should remove this danger with one consent."

But the Sultan reached Thanesar before they could collect together, and when he saw the city empty (of defenders) he plundered it at his ease, and broke all the idols and sent (the idol) Jagsum to Ghazni (with orders that) it should be placed in the road, so that every one might pass over it and trample it under his feet; and he found so great a treasure in the temples that it could not be counted.

And it is related by Haji Muhammad Kandahari that in one temple a piece of ruby was found, which in weight was 450 miskals, and no one had ever seen or heard of such a piece.

And the Sultan after that victory determined to subdue Delhi, but his nobles begged him, saying: "It is then necessary to go to Delhi when the Punjab from one end to another shall come into our possession and our minds be at ease from our anxiety regarding (the intentions of) Anandpal."

Page 26. The Sultan approved of this counsel, and despatched a little less than two hundred thousand slave-girls and slaves from that country and returned to Ghazni.

It is said that that year they counted the city of Ghazni as one of the cities of Hindustan, because many slaves and slave-girls had fallen to each noble. And in the year 403 of the Hegira Altuntash, the Commander-in-Chief, and Arsalan Jazib conquered Gharjistan and captured Shah Sar known as Abu Nasar, (who was) ruler of that country, and brought him to Ghazni.

And while they were taking Shah Sar to Ghazni they entrusted him to a slave, and that slave thought to himself, "it is right that I should send a letter home that the people of (my) house shall know of my coming. So he said to Shah Sar: "Write a letter for me that I may send it home:"

Shah Sar forbade him much, but the slave would not leave him (in peace). So as he could not help himself he took a pen in his hand, and wrote: "Oh useless, undesirable, shameless evil-living one! Are you in the belief that I do not know of your conduct; and how you expend my property

on unlawful (pleasures) as if I do not know of it. You spend the day in drink and the night you amuse strange bachelors; you have ruined my home and lost my honor. If I ever reach you safely, I will reckon with you and give you a lesson."

When he had finished the letter he put a seal on it (and closed the envelope (and) gave it to the slave. When the slave sent the paper to (his) home and (when) his wife understood its purport, she was seized with panic and anxiety was born (in her mind). She thought in her heart that some enemy might have made a false accusation against her to her husband and have slandered her to him. So for fear of her husband she took a few female slaves with her and left her home, and went and hid herself somewhere in a corner. And when the slave had brought Shah Sar to Ghazni he went to his home, and what does he see (there). The door is closed, and there is no one in the house. He stood bewildered for a while. Then when he had opened the door his (once) inhabited house appeared deserted to him. Neither did he see his wife nor did his servants appear. The slave asked the neighbours (and) they told him of the paper. The slave stood for some time in grief lamenting and sighing, and saying: " I said nothing (of the kind)." Then he went and fetched his wife and made many apologies to her. Page 27.

And in the first assembly when they brought Shah Sar to the presence of the Sultan, then (some) cheerful friends told the whole story of the slave to the Sultan. The Sultan laughed, and said: " Whoever steps beyond his proper level and behaves disrespectfully to the great, deserves this very punishment."

Then the Sultan in those very days wrote a letter to the Caliph, Abbasi, whose title was Al-Kadir-Q-billah, (and) the purport of it was this "most of the cities of Khorasan

are in our possession. I hope (therefore) that some of the
Page 28. cities of Khorasan, which are in the hands of your salves, will also be left to these (my) people." As the Caliph had not the strength to go to war, was forced to agree to this proposal.

Another time the Sultan again sent him a letter, and wrote in it, "Leave Samarcand also to me." The Caliph said, " I ask shelter from the Pure God from this. I wil not do this thing, and if you intend to take it without my consent I will make the whole world shake upon you."

The Sultan was very angry at this saying, and said: "Do you wish that I should go to you with thousands of elephants and upset your kingdom and level all your villages and cities, and having loaded their dust upon elephants that I should bring it to Ghazni."

The messenger heard these words and started off(home.) When some time had elapsed, he came again and brought a paper.

The Sultan took his seat and (his) slaves stood in lines before him, and he posted great elephants at the door of his Durbar and got ready his army. At that moment the messenger placed a sealed paper on the throne, and said, " The Commander of the Faithful says, 'Your answer is this.' "

Khwaja Abu Nesar Zozni, who was the head of the office of letters, opened the paper (and) saw in it first written this

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate"

Then on the second line these letters were written separately in this way--A-L-M-A-L-M, and after that the letter was thus :—

Page 29. "Praise be to God, Lord of the World, and peace and safety be on his Prophet Muhammad and on all his descendants."

There was nothing more. The Sultan and all the other

writers were confounded and did not understand the meaning of it in the least. Then they read every single verse of the Great Kuran and saw its commentary, but no purport of it could be ascertained. Khwaja Abu Bakr Kahastani, who was not till then the possessor of (any great) rank, plucked up courage, and said : " The gracious Sultan had mentioned elephants to destroy that country, so it must be that the Caliph in reply to your words has written (the verse of the Koran, which means) :

" Oh ! do you not see how your God has treated the friends of the elephants."

The Sultan on hearing these words fell down senseless through fear. When after a while he came to himself, he wept much and made excuses to the messenger and sent him back with many gifts and gave Abu Bakr a special robe of honour and promoted him to the dignity of a noble.

And in the year 404 of the Hegira, the Sultan led his army to the Fort of Nanduna, which is situated on the hill Balnat.

And at this time Anandpal died. His son, who was grandson of Jaipal and was Governor of Lahore, had not the strength to fight him, (and) leaving few warriors in Nanduna, went to a (certain) valley of Cahsmere. The Sultan besieged that fortress, and prepared what was requisite for making a hole and destroying the fort; but those people were hard- Page 30.
pressed and begged for mercy, and made over the fort safe and complete to the Sultan.

The Sultan took possession of the fort and appointed a trustworthy man to (the charge of) it, and went after Jaipal's grandson to that valley of Cashmere (which has already been mentioned), and Jaipal's grandson thence fled elsewhere. The

Sultan plundered much wealth in that valley, and reconciled many people to (joining the) Musalman faith, then he returned to Ghazni.

And in the year 406 of the Hegira, the Sultan made a plan of (conquering) the country of Cashmere, and when he went there he besieged the strong fort of Lohkot; but when a long time had elapsed and much snow fell, and the cold became extreme (lit. victorious) and reinforcements beyond number had reached the fort, he raised the siege and started back to Ghazni. And in that journey he lost his way and reached a place where the whole plain was full of water. Wherever they went they saw nought but water, and in that water many men perished, and this was the first (misfortune due to the) evil eye which had befallen the Sultan's army in its journeys in Hindustan. After some days they, with many devices and efforts, got free from that water and went to Ghazni.

And in that very year Ab-ul-Abbas Mamun, king of Khoarazm, wrote a letter of friendship to the Sultan (asking) for (the hand of) his sister. The Sultan accepted the (offer in the) paper and sent his sister to Khoarazm.

Page 31. And in the year 407 of the Hegira a band of brigands made an attack on the King of Khoarazm, and killed him. The Sultan from Ghazni went to Balkh, and thence started for Khoarazm.

When he reached Khizr Bandar, on the frontier of Khoarazm, he made Muhammad Tai the Chief of an army, and sent him in front. When the people of Ghazni had encamped and were standing up for the morning prayer, Khamar Tash, who was the leader of the Khoarazmis, emerged from a place of ambush and surprised them; he killed many of them and routed them.

The Sultan sent a large army of picked men (lit. slaves) after them, and when they came up with them they captured Khamar Tash and brought him to the Sultan.

When the Sultan reached the fortress of Hazarasp, the soldiers of Khoarazm collected and made a simultaneous attack on the Sultan's army, and fought desperately. But they were broken, and Alaptagin Bokhari, who was their leader, fell into captivity. When the Sultan went to Khoarazm he first retaliated on the murderers of Ab-ul-Abbas (by killing them), then he gave to the noble Altum Tash the title of the King of Khoarazm, and bestowed on him the country of Khoarazm and Arkand together with its surrounding (country). And when thence he came to Balkh he gave the country of Herat to his son Amir Masud, and made Muhammad Ben Hussain Zozni his deputy, and sent him with him. And the country of Korkan he gave to his son Amir Muhammad and sent Abu Bakr Kahastani with him. Page 32

And when the Sultan was (once more) at leisure from the affairs of Khoarazm, it was then winter time, and he gave an order (saying): "We will pass the winter in Bust so that the soldiers may be in comfort."

And in the early spring of the year 409 of the Hegira, when the nights and days are equal (in length) and the soldiery of verdure and flowers was standing in the meadows of the plains and groves, and the pure air and fragrant breeze had conquered the fortress of the buds, the Sultan, with a lakh of sawars and twenty thousand infantry, who had assembled with the intention of (joining) a holy war from Turkestan, from Mawar-ul-Nahr and from Khorasan and from other countries, started for Kanauj.

Now that country after (the invasion of) Kashtasp till then had never fallen into the hands of any foreign (conquerer), and from Ghazni to that place it was three months' journey, and there were seven very large rivers to be crossed.

When the Sultan reached the frontier of Cashmere, the Governor of Cashmere presented many things worth offering before the Sultan, and started at the head of his army for (the Sultan's) service. When the soldiers of Islam had traversed many stages and had arrived at Kanauj, they saw a great, firm, strong fort, so (great) that a spectator would think that its head reached to the sky. And the raja of that place was called Korah, (and) when he saw the
Page 33 (Sultan's) army he was confounded at their grandeur and pomp and was terrified, in his heart there remained no idea of fighting, and he sent some men to the presence of the Sultan, saying: "I obey the orders of the King," and he himself, with affection and sincerity, descended from the fort with his great and small sons, and according to the writings of Habib-us-Siyar (it appears that) he also embraced Islam. And the Sultan after three days started for the fort of Meerut. The raja of that fort, who was called Harwat, entrusted the fort to trustworthy men, and himself went away to another place (lit. to one side). And the people in the fort saw that they had no power of resistance, so they presented (to the Sultan) ten thousand times one thousand dirhams, which is two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees, and thirty elephants, and obtained peace. Again, the Sultan from that place started for the fort of Mahawan, which fort is built on the banks of the Jun water. And the raja of that fort was called by the name of Kalchand. He mounted an elephant and determined to cross the water. The army of the Sultan started after him, (and) when the soldiers got

near to him, that unlucky tyrant drew (his) dagger from (its) sheath (and) first cut off the head of his wife and son, then he struck himself on the breast and sent himself to hell.

And in that place so much plunder fell into the Sultan's hands that no one could count it. Eighty great elephants alone were (found) in it. When the Sultan was at leisure from that affair, some one (caused to) pass to his auspicious ears (the news) that in those parts there was a city called Muttra, (and) that Krishn Bas Dev, whom the Hindus call a prophet, was born in that city, and (that) in extent (lit. buildings) or population no one had seen in the world a city like it. And there were so many wonders and curiosities in it that no one can (enough) extol them. The Sultan on hearing this account immediately started for that place. And although that city was subject to the Raja of Delhi, still no one appeared to stop the King's (advance.) He reached his destination without anxiety and without interference, and plundered the city and burnt the idol-houses of the city and neighbourhood, and broke the idols and much wealth came into his hands. And he was so astonished at the sight of those buildings (which he found there) that he sent a letter to the nobles and chiefs of Ghazni, and wrote this paragraph in it: "In this city there are a thousand buildings with foundations (as strong) as the sky and most of them are built of marble, and there are so many idol-houses in them that they are beyond counting; and if any one should desire to build such buildings, then if he were to spend a lakh of gold mohurs on expert builders, he would (hardly) complete it in two hundred years." Page 24.

It is said that he found amongst them five idols of pure gold, in the eye-sockets of which they put sapphires (and) all those sapphires were valued at fifty thousand rupees. There was another idol of gold in which they had inserted a Page 25.

plate of emeralds, which in weight was 400 miskals. When they had broken up that idol eight thousand three hundred miskals of gold were got from it, and of idols of silver, great and small, there were more than one hundred, (and) when they broke them all up they loaded a hundred camels with them. After this they set fire to all the buildings, (and) when twenty days had passed they marched from that place.

And it is written in the history of Alfi that the Sultan heard that in those parts there were on the bank of the river seven great forts, so he set out in that direction. And the ruler of those forts used to pay tribute to the Delhi Raja, and when he learnt of this he fled. The Sultan reached those forts and was taking a view of the (surrounding) countries (when) it chanced that his eye fell on an idol-house which, in the belief of the Hindus, was standing for four thousand years. In those forts and idol-houses everything that the Musalmans found they took possession of, and at the King's stirrup they started for the fort of Mauj.

And in that fort there were many brave men, and they had put supplies (sufficient) for a long time in it. The Sultan besieged those people for fifteen days and left them no way of going and coming. When they understood that the Sultan would conquer the fort by force, some of them descended form the fort and slew themselves, and some with their women and sons threw themselves into a fire, and some opened the gate, took their daggers and knives in their hands and fought such a fight with the Musalmans that they were all killed.

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The Sultan brought the plundered property into his possession, and at once started for Chandpal's fort. Chandpal himself saw (that he had) no strength to fight (so)

with his family and property fled to the mountains. The Sultan took possession of (all) property remaining in the fort, and divided the stores of grain among his soldiers.

Then he decided to go to the home of the infidel Chand Rai. He also did like Chandpal; they fled to the hills with their property and possessions.

And Chand Rai had an elephant which the Sultan had many times tried, at a great price, to obtain; but he could not get it. And (about) that time that elephant, without its attendant, ran away from the camp of Chand Rai, and came straight to the Sultan's tent. The Sultan gave orders and they seized it, and he was much pleased. And he gave that elephant the name of Khodadad (*i. e.*, God-given). Then when the Sultan arrived at Ghazni he counted up the plunder which he had taken in the expedition to (lit. the plunder of) Kanauj. It turned out (to be) twenty thousand gold pieces and a thousand thousand rupees and fifty thousand slave, female and male, and three hundred and fifty elephants, and there was much other property.

Then the Sultan gave orders, saying: "Build a Musjid-i jami, which Pathans call 'the Friday mosque' of marble, so that in some places there may be square (blocks of marble) and in some hexagonal, and in some octagonal, and in some cylindrical, so that spectators may be astounded at (the beauty of) the sight of it, and when he had built that mosque he put in it such carpets and lamps and other things of beauty, that cheerful youths used to call it "The Bride of Heaven." And in the neighbourhood of that mosque he built a school and collected in it the books of every (kind of) wisdom and endowed that mosque and that school with (the revenues of) many villages. And as the Sultan did

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this work with (great) enthusiasm, every noble began to build in his own property mosques, schools and rest-houses for travellers. In a little while so many buildings resulted that they could not be counted. And in that journey the Sultan had brought a bird from Hindustan (which was) like a dove (and) should any one mix poison in the food and bring that food to the assembly, then that bird would tremble restlessly and shed tears involuntarily. He sent this with many (other) offerings to the Caliph Al-Kadr-o-Billah of Baghdad.

And he had found a stone in Hindustan that, however much a man was wounded, when they scraped that stone in water and put it on that wound, it would instantly begin to heal. And in the year 400 of the Hegira he sent to Baghdad a roll of conquests in which all (his) conquests of Hindustan were written. The Caliph of Baghdad, on the day he received
Page 28. that paper, assembled a great gathering and ordered that that roll of conquests should be read from the pulpits before (all) the people, so that the people might be informed of the exaltation of the standards of Islam and of the destruction of the (very) root of the heathen and return thanks to God and greatly appland Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, and pray for his (further) conquest and victory. And on that day there was such rejoicing in Baghdad as one rejoices on the day of the Id—and (to do) this was (but) fitting, inasmuch as just as the companions of the Prophet did a (great) work in the cities of Arabia, Persia, Turkey and Syria, such a work did the Sultan do in Hindustan (and) gained both this world and the next.

And in the year 412 of the Hegira, the wise and pious unanimously petitioned the Sultan, saying: "For a long time the Sultan goes every year to Hindustan for a holy war to gain reward in heaven, and there displays the standard of

Islam, but on the (very) road to the House of God (*i.e.*, Mecca) the dwellers in the desert, and the Karamatas have gained the ascendancy and the Abbasi Caliphs have no power, so Musalmans have remained (so) unfortunate (as to lose) the reward of pilgrimage. If something would be done to help them it would be well."

The Sultan accepted their words (of advice) (and) made one Abu Muhammad Nasahi, who was the head of the Qazis of the Sultan's dominions, Lord of the Pilgrims, and gave him thirty thousand pieces of gold for those dwellers in the desert who used to attack the caravans and sent him to the House of God, and many people, nobles and poor and destitute, great and small, started with him. After many marches dwellers in the desert, according to their ancient custom, were holding the road and would not allow the caravan to advance. Qazi Abu Muhammad Nasahi, as peace-offering, sent them five thousand pieces of gold, and said to them : Take this and leave the road (open) to us." Page 29.

The chief of the dwellers in the desert, whose name was Hamad-bin-Ali, would not make peace and prepared his force and advanced with the intention of raiding towards the caravan. It chanced that in the caravan there was a Turk slave who was very skilful at archery; he drove an arrow at Hamad and struck him fair in the head, and he fell headlong from his horse. Immediately the desert men took his body and fled.

Qazi Abu Muhammad Nasahi, with heart at ease, continued his pilgrimage safe and sound, and in peace returned (home).

And in that very year, that is, in the year 412 of the Hegira, the Sultan heard that the infidels of Hindustan had

spoken very ill of the Raja of Kanauj, who was called Korah, and had blamed him, saying: "Why have you obeyed the orders of Sultan Mahmud?" and Nanda, the Raja of Kalinjar, pursued and killed Korah.

Fig. 4) When the Sultan heard this news he prepared a larger force than (he had) the first time and went after Nanda to Hindustan. When he reached the river Jun, the grandson of Jaipal, the Raja of the Punjab, who had often fled from the Sultan, advanced to help Nanda to the centre of the Sultan's route, to oppose the Sultan's army. But the water was deep (and) no one could cross to the other bank. Suddenly eight of the Sultan's picked slaves crossed the water with a rush, and they threw the whole of the army of Jaipal's grandson into confusion and made them fly before them. Jaipal's grandson with a few men fled and the (eight) slaves went on, and there was a city near and they plundered it and destroyed its temples, and it should be evident to the wise that eight (slave) youths cannot break an army, but those eight slaves were (in reality) nobles (and) had crossed with their own forces, and therefore they had done so great a work. From that place he took his army towards Kalinjar. Nanda with 36,000 mounted men and 45,000 footmen and 640 elephants came out to (give) battle to the Sultan.

The Sultan ascended a hillock and surveyed the army of Nanda; as it appeared to him (to be) very great (in number) he regretted having come; he bent his head in prostration and prayed for victory and conquest to God. It happened that that night a great panic fell on the heart of Nanda; he left all his property and war material, and from fear fled away.

Next day the King mounted (his horse) and first he searched for (any) places of ambush, and when the fear (of treachery and deceit on the part of the heathens was dispelled, he began to plunder. Page 41.

All kinds and sorts and varieties of things fell into the hands of the Musalman soldiers Also in those parts they found 580 elephants in a forest. And as he was not at ease in his mind regarding the Punjab (which was) in his rear, he was satisfied that year with (having done) that work (and) returned to Ghazni.

Again in those very days news reached him that the people of Kirat and Nardin, which are counted as being within the limits of Hindustan, had not placed not the halter of Islam on their necks and had turned their heads (away) from the orders of the laws of Muhammad, on whom be peace, (and) were mostly indulging in idolatry.

The Sulltan took with him carpenters and smiths and masons and led his army. He first came to Kirat, and he subdued Kirat; and Kirat is a cool place (situated) between Hindustan and Turkestan (and) many fruits grow in it.

When the ruler of that place accepted Islam, the Sultan sent Hajib Ali, the son of Arsalan Jazib to Nardin. He, when he got there, conquered that place (and many) slave-girls and slaves and (much) property came into his hands, and there was a great idol-house there, and when he destroyed it an engraved stone was found in it (lit. arose from it) which (showed that the idol-house) had been, in the belief of the Hindus, built for 40,000 years.

The Sultan went to that place and built a fort in it and made Ali, the son of Kadar Saljuki, commander of it, and then returned to Ghazni. Page 43.

And in the year 412 of the Hegira he determined (to go) to Cashmere, and he (therefore) besieged Lohkot. He spent one month there, but they were firm (in their defence) and the hand of the Sultan was not (victorious) over them. He retired from that place (and) went to Lahore (and) sent his army in every direction to plunder and raid (and) they collected an extremely great quantity of (all sorts of) property and goods.

And on that occasion when the grandson of Jaipal had become weak he fled to the Raja of Ajmere. The Sultan went and captured Lahore and entrusted it to a trustworthy noble, and the other parts of the Punjab he (also) entrusted to trustworthy and loyal men, and he held his hand from plunder and began to cherish and please the minds of the people, and he left his army in that country and published the "khutba" (sermon) in his name, and in the first (beginning) of spring he went to Ghazni.

And in the year 413 of the Hegira, on the way to Lahore, he determined to go to the country of Nanda. When he reached the fort of Gwalior he made arrangements
Page 43. to blockade it. After four days the raja of that fort sent to him very intelligent messengers with (an offering of) thirty-five elephants (and) made peace with him.

The Sultan started from that place for Kalinjar where Nanda abode. Nanda sent 300 elephants (as an offering) for peace. When the Sultan had accepted the elephants the raja turned all the elephants, without their attendants, loose in the plain. The Sultan gave orders to his Turks and they seized them all and mounted upon them, and the people of the fort were astounded at them.

And Nanda in the Hindu tongue composed a poem in praise of the Sultan and sent it to him. The Sultan showed that poem to the learned men of Hindustan and of Arabia and of Persia (and) they all cried "bravo!" and "well done."

The Sultan was very pleased and gave him a commission as ruler of fifteen fortresses, of which one was the fort of Kalinjar (itself) together with (many) other presents. Nanda also presented to the Sultan much riches and many pearls (and) then the Sultan started back to Ghazni and arrived there safely.

And in the year 415 of the Hegira he took a muster of the army. Without (counting) that army which was in (distant) provinces they wrote with pens (upon the muster-rolls) 54,000 mounted men and 300 elephants, and with that splendour (of retinue) he started for Balkh.

At that time the people of Mawar-ul-Nahr complained of the rule (lit. hand) of Alitagin. The Sultan crossed the Jaihun river, determined to remove him. The nobles of Mawar-ul-Nahr came out to receive him and brought offerings worthy of their positions (lit. selves). And Yusuf Kadar Khan, who was King of all Turkestan, also came to receive him. He was granted an interview with the Sultan, (who received him) with great affection and friendship. The Sultan was greatly pleased (with him) and they held (various) assemblies and presented to one another offerings and rarities and parted with peace, and (with well) pleased (minds.) When Alitagin learnt this news he fled. The Sultan sent men after him and captured him and brought him back. And he put fetters on him (and) confined him in a (certain) fortress of Hindustan, and he himself marched to Ghazni. Page 44.

And in that very year, *i.e.*. 415 of the Hegira, some one made a petition to him (saying) that: "The Hindus of Hindustan say that when souls become separated from bodies they all go to do service to Somnath, and that there every soul is made over to the body (most) suitable (to it). And another belief of the Hindus is this, that the ebbing and flowing of the ocean is for the worship of Somnath. And the Brahmans say that Somnath was very angry with those idols which Sultan Mahmud had broken and therefore had not helped them, or else in the twinkling of an eye he would have destroyed them all (*i.e.*, the Sultan's forces). And another of their beliefs is this, that Somnath is a King, and that (all) other idols are his door-keepers and watchmen."

Page 45 When the Sultan was informed of this matter he made a firm resolve to conquer Somnath. On the 10th day of the month of Shabkadar he started for Somnath with a choice army and with 30,000 mounted men, warriors of the Faith, who had come from Turkestan and other countries. And that (*i. e.*, Somnath) is a great city on the bank of the river Aman, and it is the (chief) place of worship of all the Brahmans and (other) heathen and (the idol) Somnath was also in that place. And it is related in histories that people in the time of the prophet of the last period, on whom be peace, had brought a great idol named Somnath from the Kaaba (*i. e.*, Macca), and had taken it to that place and had founded that city in its name. But it would appear from the books of the first (of the) Brahmans, which books were compiled a thousand years before (the era of) Islam, that that account is not true. Indeed, they say that that idol is of the time of Krishna, and that is four thousand years (ago) and the Brahmans used to worship it, and according to the version of the Brahmans, Krishna disappeared (from earth)

in that very place. The Sultan on the 15th of the Ramzan, which Pathans call "the month of fasting," reached Multan. As he was advancing a waterless and grassless desert appeared before him, so the Sultan ordered that each one should carry water and grass with him. And as a precaution the Sultan himself loaded twenty thousand selected camels with water and grass. When they had traversed that desolate wilderness they reached the city of Ajmere. Page 46.

And the raja of that place had withdrawn from the road (so) the soldiers of the Sultan began to slay and plunder. But (as) their object was to destroy Somnath, they did not wait to carry the fort of Ajmere, (but) went on and seized the road before them. And during this they came upon many forts full of brave men; but all were filled with fear, and without anything (in the way of fighting) they agreed (to acknowledge the Sultan's rule), after that he reached Nahrwala and found that city empty, (so) the Sultan ordered (his men) to go and fetch from that city much grass.

When they had gone and fetched the grass they set out quickly, and with the utmost speed reached Somnath.

And there, on the seashore, they saw a great fortress (so great) that a man would think that its summit touched the sky and the waters of the sea warred with its walls, (and) many infidels were seated on its summit gazing at the Musalmans. And they were crying with loud voices, "Somnath has led you here, so that with one blow he may slay you all, and he will now take his revenge for all the idols you have broken in Hindustan." Next day as the sun rose the Sultan issued orders to his army, (and) they went straight to the base of the walls of the fort to fight. When the Hindus saw their bravery and courage they left the summit of the fort, for fear of the archers, (and) all fled to the idol-houses and begged aid from Somnath.

Page 47. The Musalmans planted ladders and climbed to the summit of the fort, and with loud voices chanted, "God is great!" The Hindus also unanimously opposed them, and they fought together the whole day. When night came both armies rested, and next day the battle joined in the same way (and) until night they were themselves out (and) they killed many heathen. On the third day many armies came from (all) parts of Hindustan and drew themselves up in lines outside on the plain. The Sultan left some to (carry on) the siege and the rest went and gave battle on the plain. And by the coming of the Chiefs of Pramdev and Dabishlim, the Musalmans' strength failed. The Sultan in great grief went to a corner and seized the mantle of Abul Hassan Kharkani, and prayed to the presence of the Pure God for victory and conquest. Then he came to the centre of his line and charged upon the infidels. Victory was his destiny, and he slew five thousand heretics. And when fear overcame the people of the fort, they left the fighting and the Brahmans and attendants of Somnath, who were about four thousand, went to the bank of the sea Aman and seated themselves in boats and started towards the island Sarandip, (*i.e.*, Ceylon). But the Sultan had previously thought of this and had posted several ships filled with soldiers on the way to Sarandip. When to them the ships of the heathen appeared they pursued them (and) sank them all in the water.

Page 48. Then the Sultan with his sons and nobles entered the fort and viewed all its buildings.

After that (he saw) in the fort an idol-house which had been built so long and broad, that it had fifty-six pillars and all were studded with jewels.

(And Somnath was an idol of stone five yards long, of which two yards were in the earth and three yards out. When the Sultan's gaze fell on the idol he had a battle-axe in his

hand and struck it so in the face that he broke the face. After that he gave orders (and) took two pieces from it (and) sent them to Ghazni. One he put in the doorway of the Friday mosque, and the other he put in the palace of the King's audience hall.

For six hundred years those pieces (of the idol) lay there and people used to see them.

And he separated two more pieces of Somnath and sent them to Mecca and Medina (so) that they might place them in the main roads that poor and great might walk over them.

And this story is (also) true that at the time he was going to break Somnath, a band of Brahmans appealed to the nobles (saying): "If the Sultan will not break this idol we will pay so much into the State treasury." The nobles approved of this suggestion and said to the Sultan: "By the breaking of this idol idolatry will not be lost to this country, and if wealth be taken instead of it many Musalmans will benefit by it."

The Sultan said: "Your words are true, but if I do this thing people will call me 'Mahmud, the idol-seller,' and if I break it they will call me 'Mahmud, the idol-breaker.' Now it is better that both in this world and the next they should call me 'the idol-breaker,' not 'the idol-seller,'"; and the advantage of the firm faith of the Sultan was that (when) he broke that idol so many royal pearls came out of its belly that they were a hundred times more than the Brahmans' price (which they had offered.) Pag. 40

And it is written in the "Habib-ul-Siyar" that Somnath is the name of the idol which the Hindus account chief among their idols, but from the words of Sheikh

Farid-ud-Din Attar it appears contrary to this, as the following couplet itself bears witness:—

The army of Mahmud in the midst of Somnath
Found an idol and it had the name of Nath.

That is "Som" was the name of the idol-house and "Nath" was the idol in it.

And to the writer of these lines it appears that what the historians have said is true, and the Sheikh's words are not contradictory, because this word (Somnath) is a compound of "Som" and "Nath,' and "Som" was the name of a raja who constructed the idol and "Nath" was the name of the idol. Later, by reason of its constant use, both became one name, and it was used as the name of the idol and also of the idol-house and also of the city. No, if anyone
Pag. 59. calls the name of the idol "Somnath" or says "Nath" alone both are equal, and "Nath" in the Hindi tongue means "venerable."

And in the temple of Somnath on nights or days when the moon or the sun is eclipsed more than two or three lakhs of people would assemble, and from distant countries people would bring offerings to it, and all the villages with which (various) rulers of Hindustan had endowed Somnath were said to be two thousand (in number.)

And two thousand Brahmans used continually to worship Somnath, and every night they used to bathe it in fresh water from the Ganges, in spite of the fact that six hundred 'kos' of road lay between the Ganges and Somnath.

And a chain of gold was hung from one corner of the temple to the other, (and) bells were suspended from that chain. Whenever anyone would shake the chain and the Brahmans would hear they would assemble for worship.

And five hundred singing and dancing slave-girls and three hundred male musicians lived always in that idol-house, and their food and requirements were supplied from the endowment.

And three hundred barbers used to sit ready to shave beards or heads, and most of the rajas (of Hindustan) used to send their own daughters as an offering for the service of Somnath to that idol-house. And so many pearls were received into the Sultan's treasury from that idol-house that one-hundredth part of those pearls had never been collected in the treasury of any king. An in the history of Zain-ul-Maasir it is related that originally the idol-house in which Somnath was, was dark, and its light was owing to the light of the pearls which had been placed in lamps and the lustre (which) shone from them. Page 61.

And in the treasury of Somnath so many small idols of gold and silver were found that people could not count them.

As the Philosopher Sanai has said :—

The idols of Mecca and Somnath were destroyed
By the hands of Muhammad and of Mahmud.
From Mecca Muhammad removed opposition ;
Somnath was made by Mahmud pure and clean.

In short, when the Sultan was relieved of the (anxiety of the) affair of Somnath, he decided to punish Raja Pramdev, who was the great Raja of Nahrwala city, because (when) the Sultan was engaged in the siege of Somnath he had sent much assistance to the heathens ; indeed two or three thousand Musalmans had fallen martyrs at the hands of his army. And after the victory of Somnath, Raja Pramdev fled from Nahrwala, which was the capital of Gujerat, and firmly established himself in the fort of Khanda. And from Somnath by dry (land) that fort was six-score kos journey. And

when the Sultan reached the limits of that fort he saw that there was much water all round it and from no direction was there any way of approach to it.

Page 53. The divers of the army did all they could (lit. took much thought) but they could not at all understand (any solution of) the case. Then he sent for the divers of the country and asked them about the (means of) getting to the other bank. They said: "In such and such a place there is a way of crossing (*i.e.*, a ford), but should the waters come in waves all the people (who are trying to cross) will be drowned."

The Sultan sought an omen in the great Kuran and placed his reliance on the favour of God. And with his nobles and soldiers he rode his horse into the water and in safety he reached the further bank. The saving of his own life appeared to Pramdev the greatest (of all possible) (blessing), and having got beyond (thought for) his honour or his good name he went out of the fort by himself in the garb of a fakir and fled to some corner, and the soldiers of the Sultan entered the fort and killed many infidels, and made slaves of their women and boys, and the property and jewels of the raja they deposited in the Sultan's treasury.

The Sultan, victorious and conquering, went to Nahrwala, and when he saw the pure air, beautiful youths, and green gardens, and clear running water, and (every) other thing required for enjoyment, he decided to live for some years in that country; indeed he approved of this (thought) that he should make that place his capital, and should entrust Ghazni to (his son) Sultan Masud. From some books of history it appears that at that time some few mines of pure gold had been found there, and that the King for
Page 53. that reason (was inclined to) make that place his capital and now no sign of those mines is left. And this has frequently happened, that at that time there would be a mine

somewhere and that now it is lost. For instance, in Seistan in the Sultan's time a mine was found, and some time after was lost on account of an earthquake. And in the island of Sarandip and of Pegu and in other harbours and islands mines of gold and sapphires had appeared. So the Sultan wanted to seat his army in boats and subdue those countries, but the nobles, on account of their well wishing (towards him) represented that Khorasan had with great trouble come into their possession and innumerable people had been killed, now to leave it and to establish Gujerat as capital did not appear advisable. This advice had (its) effect on the Sultan's mind, and he determined to return (to Ghazni) and he said: "Choose a man to whom to entrust the Government of this country." The nobles consulted together and petitioned the Sultan saying, "We cannot come and go constantly in this country, so if it appears desirable to the Sultan let him appoint a man of this country as ruler."

The Sultan held council with the people of Somnath on this subject, (and) they said to him: "In this place no one can come up to the Dabishlim (family) in dignity and in (purity of) birth, and at this (very) time there is a man of their family here in the garb of a Brahman. If the Sultan will entrust this work to him, then it would be well. But some people said: "This Dabishlim is a very harsh tempered man, and has formerly fought several times for the throne, and each time has been taken captive by his brothers and has obtained release by (showing) humility and (by making entreaties. Now perforce he has taken to (the life of a recluse, and has (permanently) taken his seat in the temple. But there is another Dabishlim from among his relations who is very intelligent and understands (matters of State) extremely well. Indeed all the Brahmans admit his (superior) understanding and foresight. And at the present

Page 54.

moment he is Governor of such and such a place, but if the Sultan will (deign to) give an order he will come with pleasure (lit. with both eyes) and will present himself for the service (of the Sultan), and as the Sultan may please in that way will he protect the interests of the country, and year by year will pay the revenue of Hindustan into the Sultan's treasury.

The Sultan said: "Were that man present here and had himself said those words it would have been more fitting, but as I have never seen him or set eyes on him, to give him so great a country would be a thing (worthy) of every foolish people."

Then the Sultan summoned that Brahman Dabishlim and entrusted him with the government of Nahrwala. He took on himself the (responsibility of the) tribute and revenue (of Nahrwala) and petitioned the Sultan (saying), "Such and such a Dabishlim (who) is (a member) of my family and has great enmity towards me, now when he learns of the King's departure and comes to attack me he
Page 55. will defeat me, as I have not so much power and strength (as he, and) if the Sultan will release me from his intrigues I will pay yearly into the Sultan's treasury twice the revenues of Cabul and Zabal."

The Sultan said: "It is (now) two years since we came for this Holy War, not two indeed but two and-a-half; we will, however, first come to an understanding with him and after that we will think of returning to our native land."

Accordingly he sent an army to the country of Dabishlim and in a little while they conquered that country (also) and brought that (other) Dabishlim alive and gave him over to the (first) Dabishlim. Dabishlim made a petition (saying). "In our religion it is not lawful to kill a king. Indeed it is the custom whenever one king is taken prisoner at the

hand of another king, that he should build for him a confined dark cell under his own throne and make a hole in it in order that he may give him water and bread, and that he should remain captive in it until one of the two should die. Now, as I have not sufficient organization to be able to keep an enemy a prisoner with safety to myself, and if the Sultan should go I fear lest his relations might rebel against me and release him from me, so I ask that the Sultan may (be pleased to) take him with him to Ghazni, and when my strength and power is (sufficiently) developed the Sultan may (kindly) send him (back) to me." The Sultan granted this petition also. Two years and a half after (his setting out on the expedition to Somnath) he returned to Ghazni. But as Raja Pramdev and the Raja of Ajmere and (many) other rajas had collected a great army and had taken possession of the Sultan's route, the Sultan did not consider it advisable to (give them) battle, (and) started for Multan by the said route. The army suffered greatly in every place (for want of) supplies, water and grass, and with great trouble reached Ghazni in the year 417 of the Hegira. Page 56.

And as the Sultan was starting for Multan by the said route, he ordered that a man was required to accompany them to show them road. Accordingly a Hindu agreed (to do this) (and) started at the head of the army, and he led the army by such a route that there was no sign of water anywhere on that route. When a night and a day had passed such hardships had come upon the army that each one said, "Verily the signs of the Last Day have appeared:" The Sultan questioned the Hindu (saying): "What sort of road is this that you have brought us by?" The Hindu said: "I am counted as one of the servants of (the God) Somnath, and I have brought you and your army by this route in order to destroy you." The Sultan became furious and slew the

Hindu then (and there). And that very night he left the army and went to a desert (spot), and there he bowed his face in prostration before the Pure God, and with many lamentations he prayed for deliverance for himself and his army.

When one watch of the night had passed, in the south a bright light appeared to him. He at once issued orders to
Page 57. his army (and) they went in the direction of that light.

Next day when dawn was breaking they reached the bank of a river and by the blessing of the devotion of the Sultan they ecaped death. And Dabishlim (had) found strength (to establish himself firmly) in the government of Somnath, (so) after some time he sent messengers with pearls and treasure to the Sultan and asked for his enemy from him.

To the Sultan this course appeared to be injudicious, and he was perplexed regarding the sending of that youth, but (as) the nobles and ministers were pleased with Dabishlim they petitioned the Sultan (saying): "What kindness is required to heathens and heretics? and the Sultan had also promised to send him back, so it is right that this youth should now be sent to him." In short, he made Dabishlim over to the messengers and dismissed them. When they reached Somnath Dabishlim (the ruler) gave orders and got ready a cell according to their well known custom, and himself went out to meet the youth and put upon his head his own dish and water jug. And made him run by the stirrup of his horse and led him towards the cell (which he prepared).

But as he was going along the road, for joy he was making his horse gallop about on one side of road and on the other, (and) the heat of the sun overcame him (and) he lay down under a tree to rest, and was taking breath: and he spread a red handkerchief over his face.

It chanced that as he was thus (lying), by the decree of the Lord of Might, a powerful bird came on the scene and it mistook that 'kerchief for (raw) flesh and swooped at it in such a way that he plunged his claws into the eyes of Dabi- Page 58.
shlim, and both (eyes) were blinded.

And at that time the chiefcains of Hindustan would not accept the rule of the crippled, the lame, the blind or of anyone in any way defective. A clamour arose among the army, and the prisoner Dabishlim came with those dense crowds to see the sight. As there was no one else there fit to be a king, they made that very prisoner king and placed that dish and water jug on the head of the blind Dabishlim, and they put the captive Dabishlim in the saddle (lit. stirrup) and took the other quickly to the prison cell. Subhan Allah, that is, I mention (the name of) God purely, in the twinkling of an eye whatever the Brahman Dabishlim had thought of for the other, that very thing was done to him, and the meaning of this tradition of the Prophet, "Whoever diggeth a pit for his brother, he will assuredly fall into it himself" became manifest.

(He, *i.e.*, the Brahman) was confounded by his own action, and in place of tears he wept blood, and kept on saying to himself this lament:—

My heart and eyes themselves have hurled.
My earthly body into fire and flood.
Observe my state with both your eyes.
And in your hearts pity my condition.

Yes, this is the will of Almighty God (that He) takes from one his kingdom and hurls him to the earth and another he preserves in the belly of a fish. And it is related in the Jami-ul-Hikayat that the Sultan saw in a temple of Hindustan an idol which was standing in the air without Page 59.
a chain (to suspend it.) No means of its suspension could

be seen, nor did it move from side to side, nor did it fall down. When the Sultan saw that idol, he inclined his thoughts to it and asked the wise men (saying, "What skill is this (by) which this idol is standing in the air." They all replied with one consent, "This idol is of iron and these walls are of loadstone, *i.e.*, that stone which attracts iron to itself, so of course that idol is stationary in the middle, and does not move (either from side to side (or) down or up (or) forward or backward. The Sultan gave orders (and) they destroyed one wall (and) the idol at that very moment fell headlong to the ground. And in that year when the Sultan reached Ghazni, the Caliph Al-Kadir-o-Billah of Bagdad sent him a letter, in which he had written separate titles for the Sultan and for his sons. The title of the Sultan was "The shelter of Dignity and Islam" and the title of the Amir Masud "Brilliant Star of Dignity and of the Beauty of the Faith," and for the Amir Yusuf "The Fore-arms of Dignity and Strength giver of the Faith." And after this he had written, "Whoever the Sultan may nominate to the kingdom in his place he will also be accepted by us." And this letter reached the Sultan in Balkh.

Fag, 60. And in that very year the Sultan started to punish those Jats who were in the Jodi mountains on the bank of the river, because at the time when the Sultan was coming (back) from Somnath those Jats behaved disrespectfully to the army of the Sultan. When he arrived at Multan, he gave orders that four thousand boats should be built, and that in each boat three spikes (lit. horns) of iron should be strongly fixed, one spike at the head of the boat and the other two at the sides, so that whatever might collide with it should not remain uninjured. These (boats) they al launched into the water and in each boat he seated twenty men with (their) arrows, bows and burning glasses and

other munitions of war and started off to exterminate the Jats.

And when the Jats became aware (of this) they sent (their) women, boys and girls to the islands, and the men alone remained equipped for battle. Then they launched 4,000 boats, some say even 8,000, on the river, and in every boat were seated many armed men ready for battle.

When both sides met, they fought a greate battle; but every boat of the Jats, which collided with the spikes of the boats of of the Sultan's army, went then and there to pieces and the Jats (in it) were drowned in the river.

To (make a long story) short, most of them were drowned and the few that remained they made pass under the sword. And the soldiers of the Sultan then pursued their families and brought them all captive from the islands. The Sultan conquering and victorious returned to Ghazni. Page 61.

And in the year 418 of the Hegira the Sultan deputed the Governor of Tus Abul-Harb-Arsalan to go to Abiward and Nissa, and gave him orders (saying): "Go and exterminate those Turkomans who have crossed the river Amu and are making disturbances there."

When the Amir of Tus had gone, and had had much fighting, he wrote a petition to the Sultan (saying): "If the Sultan will be so kind (as to come) himself there is a hope of success; if not, it is very difficult to put down their disturbances."

The Sultan himself set out against them and scattered their band.

And when the Sultan's nobles were victorious over the country of Irak, and took it from the possession of the descendants of Boya, he was obliged to go thence to Rae.

The great treasures of Rae which, for many years, the Delmi rulers had accumulated, fell into his hands without fighting and without a struggle. And among the followers of false religions and Karamats whoever he found, and against whoever (the charge) was proved, he slew them ; and he gave the governments of Rae and Isfahan to Amir Masud and he himself went to Ghazni.

And a little while after consumption, or some other severe illness attacked the Sultan, but strenuously pretend-
Page 62. ed to the people to be well and strong, and in that state (of health) he went to Balkh. When it was spring-time he again came to Ghazni. And his illness became very severe there. Then in Ghazni, from that very illness, in the year 421 of the Hegira, on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabi-ul-Akhir, which Pathans call "the month of the second sister" (and) his age was 63 years, he made his journey from this world (to Paradise). Now he had reigned for 35 years. And that night while it was raining they took his bier and buried him in the Turquoise Palace at Ghazni.

And Sultan Mahmud was of medium height and his limbs were symmetrical and his face was pitted (with small pox). And he was the first (king of Ghazni) to assume the title of Sultan.

And when the Sultan was about to die he gave orders two days before (his decease) and they brought from the treasury and placed before him in the courtyard (of his palace) bags of gold and silver, and various sorts of pearls and cloths which he had collected during a long period, and they converted the courtyard into a small garden, and he gazed at them with much regrets, and wept crying, alas alas ! After a short time he sent them (back) to treasury

and (in spite of his being) in such a state (of health) he gave nothing to anyone of all these things. Now for such acts as these the King has become (ill)-famed as a miser.

And next day he seated himself in a horse-litter and went to a plain (near Ghazni). He gave orders (and) sent for all (his) horses, mules, elephants and camels, and for a moment he viewed the spectacle and wept with grief at (the sight of) them and started back to his palace. Page 63.

And it is related by Abul Hassan Ali, son of Hassan Maimandi, that one day the Sultan asked Abu Tahir Samani (saying) "How many costly pearls were collected by the dynasty of Saman?" He said to him in reply: "In the time of Amir Nuh Samani seven and-a-half seers of valuable pearls were collected in the treasury." The Sultan said: "Praise to God that He has given me so many royal pearls that there are even more than twenty and-a-half seers (in my treasury)."

And it has been said that at the end of his life he one day heard that a certain man in Nishapur owned great wealth. The Sultan gave orders (and) summoned him, and said to him: "I have heard that you are a heretic or irreligious." The other gave reply: "In me there is no fault except this much that I am wealthy. I possess much wealth, so take all my possessions, but do not put this stigma on me."

The Sultan took all (his) wealth from him, and gave him a warrant in which he had written, "His principles are those of the Musalmans."

And it is related in the Tabkat-i-Nasiri that the Sultan was doubtful about this (verse of the) Traditions of the Prophet, *viz.*, "The learned are the heirs of the Prophet," and (doubtful also) about the (truth of) the day of resur-

rection and (doubtful of) about the paternity and sonship of
Page 64. the Amir Sabaktagin and himself. One night he was going somewhere (with) a servant preceding him with a candle and a golden candlestick in his hand. A pupil in a school was learning by heart his lessons, and when he had need of looking at his book (lit. at it) he would see that paragraph by the lamp of a shopkeeper. The Sultan's heart warmed (lit. burnt) towards him (and) he presented him with that candle and candlestick. That very night he saw in a dream Muhammad the chosen one, on whom be peace and greeting and he said to him: "Oh thou son of Amir Nasir-ud-din Sabaktagin, may God give you honour in both worlds alike as you have bestowed upon my heirs!" All his three doubts were changed into belief by that saying of the Prophet, and henceforth he firmly believed all three matters. And in the second year after his decease a great flood came which destroyed many buildings of the city, and (an) unlimited (number of) people died in it, and that dam which Umr-ben Lais Safar had built during his reign was so carried away by the water that no trace of it was left, and the wise said: "This terrible event has occurred owing to the death of the just Sultan."

(They said this) because the Sultan's justice had reached such a pitch that one day a man came lamenting, (and) the Sultan said to him, "Speak what do you (wish to) say." The other said: "My request is not (fit) to be said
Page 65. openly, if it be in private I will then (be able to) say it." The Sultan summoned him to his own private apartments and questioned him regarding the matter. That man said, "For a long time the Sultan's nephew is (in the habit of) coming to my house and beating me with a whip. He drives me out and spends the whole night with my wife.

And I have been all this time telling th e nobles and ministers; but they for fear of him could not bring the matter to the Sultan's (notice), and no one had (sufficient) fear of God to do me justice. So I had patience and looked to you (for help). Now that I have informed you (of it) if you will do me justice well (and good), and if not, I will (still) be patient until the Pure God in his justice may right my wrongs and take revenge for me on the tyrants (who now oppress me)."

The Sultan's heart trembled at these words and he wept extremely and then said to him: "Why did you not tell me this before." The other said: "For the whole of my life this has been my design, but I never had an opportunity of seeing you. To-day God has been kind (and) I have presented myself before you by many devices, otherwise how have poor people like me the power to bring themselves to such a place."

The Sultan said to him. "Do not tell any one that you have chanced to inform the Sultan of your state, and go home without anxiety. And at whatever time that tyrant may come and drive you out of your house do you come quickly.

The other said: "How will any one let me (approach you)?" The Sultan called his door-keepers (and) gave them orders (saying): "At whatever time this man may come, do not you forbid him (entrance), let him (in) and let him come to wherever I may be. Page 66.

And besides this he said to him secretly, "If they make excuses to you, such as, 'the King is asleep,' or detain you by any other pretence, come to such and such a place and softly (lit. slowly) call out to me and your object

will be attained." Then that man (with) heart at ease went to his home, but that (other) man neither came that night nor the next night.

When the third night came the Sultan's nephew, according to his custom, came at midnight and drove the man from his house, and without anxiety occupied himself with his (evil) work.

That man came running to the Sultan's gate, but the door-keepers said to him: "Now the Sultan is sleeping in his harem (and) no one can go to him (there); had he been in the public hall no one would stop you."

The man (being left) without (any other) remedy went to the place which the King has mentioned to him, and softly cried out, saying: "Oh kind Sultan, what are you doing!" The Sultan replied to him, saying: "Poor man, wait, I am coming;" so he quickly went out, and started off with that man, and when he entered his house what does he see (but) his nephew lying on a bed with the man's wife and a candle burning (near) to him.

The Sultan instantly extinguished the candle and drew (his) dagger, and with it he severed his (nephew's) head. Then he said to the man: "Bring me a drop of water that I may drink." When the other (had) brought the water, and the Sultan (had) drunk it, he said to him: "Poor man, go! sleep without anxiety." Page 67.

The man seized the skirt of the Sultan's (robe) and said to him: "I adjure you by that God who has given you this kingdom, that you tell me why did you extinguish that candle, and why did you send for water and then you drank it, and what for did you say to me 'Go! sleep without anxiety.'"

The Sultan said to him: "I released you from the tyranny of that tyrant and cut the head off him, so of course you become free from anxiety; and the candle I extinguished for the reason that I said (to myself), 'if I see his eyes it may be that on account of (my) love for (my) relatives I shall not be able to strike a blow at him (and) he may escape me,' and I asked for water, because on that occasion when you told me of your condition, I took an oath, saying, 'I will neither eat nor drink until I have freed this poor man from the mischief of that tyrant'; so to-day it is a full three nights and days that I have neither eaten nor drank anything. And now that I have removed his misdoings, I was very thirsty so I drank water." In short, (though) every one will have heard tales of the justice of kings, but such a deed (as this) no (other) king has probably ever done.

And in the history of Binai Geti it is related that when the Sultan went to Khorasan, it crossed his mind that he would go and pay a visit to Sheikh Abul Hassan Kharkani; but he thought again that (as) he had come this time for worldly affairs there, to see him (when) in prosecution of another work is not seemly, and that it would be better to come again to (see) him. (So) on that occasion he returned from Khorasan and went to Hindustan. And when he again Page 68. came to Ghazni he decided of gaining a future reward by seeing the Sheikh (and) started for Kharkan. When he arrived he sent a man to the Sheikh Sahib (and) said to him: "Say to him that the Sultan has come to Kharkan in order to see you, so if you also will be so kind as to come out of your place of worship and come to the Durbar, it will be very good (of you)." And he (also) said to the man: "If he will not come, repeat this verse to him, 'Oh! people, who have (been) brought (to) the faith (of Islam), obey the

orders of God and obey the orders of (His) Prophet and of the rulers (lit. the masters of orders) who may be among you.

When the messenger conveyed these words to him, the Sheikh Sahib said to him: "I am not going." Then the messenger read out to him that verse.

The Sheikh said to him: "Accept my excuses and say to the Sultan that I am so occupied in obedience to the orders of God that I am ashamed at (not being able to carry out) the orders of the Prophet and never have leisure to (obey) the orders of the ruler."

The messenger went back and told the Sultan the state (of the case). The Sultan's heart softened (towards the Sheikh and) he said: "Rise, let us go. He is not the sort of man that we thought." Then he dressed Ayaz in his own clothes and dressed up the slave-girls in boys' clothes, and he as a test took the place of Ayaz and put Ayaz in his own place (and) went to the Sheikh Sahib's hut. When they all entered the hut, and said "Peace be upon you!" the
Page 69. Sheikh said, "And upon you peace;" but he did not rise from his place, and he turned his face to the King (and) did not even look in the direction of Ayaz. The Sultan said to him: "He is the King, but you did not rise to do him honour." The Sheikh Sahib said: "This is all a trap, but I am not its bird. Do you come forward since God has made all these stand before you!"

The Sultan seated himself, and said to him: "Say a few words to me."

The Sheikh said to him: "Turn out the not unlawful ones [that is, those women that are not unlawful (in marriage for men]. The Sultan made a sign (and) the slave-girls went out. Then he said to the Sheikh: Tell me some story about Bayazid Bistami.

The Sheikh said, Bayazid said (once), " Whoever saw me is free from evil fortune. "

The Sultan said : " The Prophet, on whom be peace, was (even) greater in dignity than Bayazid and Abu Jaha used to see him there, how did he remain (so) unfortunate.

The Sheikh said to him: " Oh ! Mahmud, think. No one saw Muhammad, on whom be peace and greeting ! except the Four Friends and his disciples, and the proof of this assertion is this saying of God Almighty, 'And thou art looking at them who gaze on thee and they do not see. "

The Sultan was very pleased, and said to him: " Give me advice. "

The Sheikh said : " Choose four things: first, abstinence; second, prayer in the mosque; third, generosity ; fourth, love for (your) people. "

Then he asked him for (his) blessing, and he said, " I repeat this prayer after each of my five (daily) prayers, 'Oh God ! pardon the faithful men and women.' " Page 70.

The Sultan said : " Make a special prayer for me. " The Sheikh said: " Akibat Mahmud Bad, that is may thy end be laudable. "

The Sultan placed a bag of gold pieces before him.

The Sheikh brought out for him a cake of barley (meal) and told the Sultan to eat it. The Sultan began to chew a piece of that cake in his mouth, but it would not pass (down and) stuck in his throat.

The Sheikh said to him : " Does this morsel (of cake) stick (in your throat) and not pass (down), eh ? "

The Sultan said, " Yes. "

The Sheikh said: "In the same way also these gold pieces stick (in my threat). Take them, take them away. I have divorced (myself from) them."

The Sultan said to him: "Give me some (holy relic as a) charm."

The Sheikh gave him his own shirt of which the story has been told in the (narrative of the) fight with Dabishlim and Pramdev. And it is related in the Jami-ul-Hikayat that at the time when the Sultan came to the Sheikh, he said to him: "There were many works (to be done) in Khorasan, but I have come from Ghazni solely to have an interview with you."

The Sheikh said: "As you have come from Ghazni to see me, what wonder is it that people should wish to come from Mecca to see you, and (that they should) come?" Praise to God! The Sultan is a wonderfully great man since Sheikh Abul Hassan Kharkani has thus spoken in his favour.

It is related in the Rozat-us-Safa that one day the Sultan was sitting in his palace and was looking from side
Page 71. to side (when) he saw a man who had three cocks with him and was making signs to the Sultan. The Sultan sent for him, and said to him: What have you to say, and what are you making those signs for?"

He said, "Sire, I am a gambler. I had made you my partner behind your back (and) now I have won these three cocks for you."

The Sultan gave some one an order (and) he took those (cocks) from him.

Another day he brought him two (and) another day again brought three.

On the fourth day he stood empty-handed and sorrowful below the Sultan's palace, (and) when the Sultan looked at him, he said: "Be it well (with thee), why is my partner dejected?"

The man said: "I was gambling for the Sultan and myself, and I have lost one thousand gold pieces. Now the opponents have come and ask me for it."

The Sultan gave an order, saying: "Give him five hundred gold pieces, and tell him that next time if I am not present he should not associate me with himself (in his gambling)."

And it is related in the Habib-us-Siyar that the first minister of the Sultan was Abul-Abbas Fasil, son of Ahmad Asfaraini. At first he was a writer to King Faik. Then when his reign had passed, he became (a servant) of the Amir Sabaktagin and got the rank of minister. Then when the Sultan became King he also made him a minister; but as Abul Abbas did not know the language of the Arabs, he orderd that the correspondence of his office should be written in the Persian language; but when Khwaja Ahmad Maimandi became minister, he again started (the use of) the Arabic language. And this Abul Abbas understood (all) the affairs of State extremely well, and when he had been a minister for ten years he was turned out of that appointment. And from the sayings of some historians it appears that the Sultan used to collect large numbers of beautiful slaves, and Abul Abbas had also this taste, and on one occasion some one said to Abul Abbas: "In Turkestan there is a handsome slave, if one were to send for him it is possible (to procure him), and there is no difficulty in (arranging for) his coming." Page 72.

Abul Abbas sent a man after him and sent for him.

When the Sultan learnt (of this) he at once sent a man to him and demanded the slave from him. Abul Abbas denied (that he had him), but the Sultan made some pretence (and) went suddenly to Abul Abbas's house.

Abul Abbas was (busily) occupied in serving the Sultan and pleasing his heart, (when) in the midst of (their conversation) the slave-boy made his appearance. The Sultan on account of his having denied (the presence of the boy) became very angry (and) gave orders (saying): "Seize him and plunder his property." Then he quickly started him off for Hindustan, and some of the nobles, by (reason of their) covetousness for his money, put him to such tortures that he died there. And after him Ahmad, son of Hassan Maimandi, became minister, and this Ahmad had sucked the same breast as the Sultan (*i.e.*, was his foster-brother) and was (his companion) in his lessons. And Hassan Maimandi was in the time of Amir Sabaktagin Governor of Bust. There some embezzlement was proved against him (and) by order of Amir Sabaktagin they executed him. And that (statement) which is commonly spoken of among the people that Hassan Maimandi was minister to the Sultan, is greatly mistaken and inaccurate.

And Ahmad, son of Hassan, was a fine penman and a
Page 73. far-seeing (man). At first he used (only) to be employed in work connected with writing and papers. Then gradually the Sultan advanced him in rank, until he made him chief of (his) army. Then after some time the control of the cities of Khorasan also came into his hands, and when Abul Abbas's affairs got into (a) bad (state), he became minister in his place. For eighteen years he got on well. Then a party of the nobles, such as Altun Tash and Amir Ali, and others like them, got up (evil) reports behind his back to

such an extent that they turned the King's heart against him, and he expelled him from the mininstry. And he entrusted him to a man named Bahram, (and) said to him, "Take this (man) away, and there is a man in the valley of Kashmere called Jangi, entrust him to that man in order that he may confine him in a fort (known) as Kalinjar (lit. of Kalinjar)." Thirteen years he was prisoner in that fort, until in the time of Sultan Masud he was released. He again obtained the rank of minister and died in the year 424 (of the Hegira), and the Sultan after some time made Ahmad Hussan, son of Mikal, who was very clever and extremely far seeing, (his) minister. And until the Sultan's death it was his destiny (to hold) that post.

And the masters of history have related an anecdote of Ahmad Hussan that at that time when Sultan Mahmud was engaged in crushing Abu Ali Samjuri during the reign of Amir Sabaktagin, he heard in a certain place that there was a mendicant there who was famous for (his) many miracles and devotion. And the people call him Zahid Ahu Posh, that is, the renouncer of the world and the wearer of antelope skin. And the Sultan was very fond of mendicants, and Ahmad Hussan used to deny (the truth of) their (miraculous) works. So the Sultan said to him: "You do not believe in these people, but follow my inclination (and) let us go (to him)." So they both went and had an interview with the recluse. Page 74.

The mendicant spoke words like the saints (of old and) the Sultan's belief in him increased, (and) he said to him: "Do you require any cash or (other) things that we may present it to you?" The mendicant raised his hand to the air and held out his first full of gold to the Sultan, and said to him: "He who can obtain pure gold from the invisible

treasury (of heaven), what need has he of (the aid of) any one else."

When the Sultan saw this deed he was firmly convinced that it was (indeed) a miracle.

Then the Sultan gave that gold to Ahmad Hussan and when Ahmad Hussan had looked at it (he saw that) the seal of Abu Ali Samjuri was stamped upon (each piece of) it.

When they arose from the company of the recluse, the Sultan said to Ahmad Hussan, "Did you see this miracle or not." He in reply made representation (saying): "I am not a disbeliever in the miracles of the saints, but this does not seem proper to me that the Sultan should war with people whose seal is in circulation even in heaven.' The Sultan said: "Make me to understand the matter as to how this (can) be," The other showed him the coins, and his
Page 75. glance fell on the inscription "Abu Ali Samjuri"; he was put to shame and confusion. But the words of Ahmad Hussan are out of place, because such acts (as this) have by God's order been done repeatedly at the hands of saints.

Again, when Sultan Masud became king, he said to Ahmad Hussan, "when you were coming (back) from Mecca, the Noble, you put on a robe of honour (given you by the hand) of the king of Egypt, and (yet) he was a heretic. So you also have became Batini," that is, outwardly a Musalman (and) inwardly a heathen. And on this pretence he executed him in Balkh. Aud (of) famous poets there were many in the Sultan's time; for instance, (there were) Asayiri and Firdausi, and Minochahir and 'Ansari, and 'Asjadi and Dakiki, and Farrukhi; others like them also used to be present at his assembly.

This book was completed on Monday the fifteenth of (the month of) the Later Sister in the year 1289 of the Hegira. It has been translated from that book of which the name is Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi, and (which) is famous as the History of Ferishta, and in the year 1015 of the Hegira Mahomed Kasim Astarabadi composed it.

Oh! Ahmad (even) if your life be for a thousand years,
At last there will be separation from (your) friends.
Except God are doomed to destruction,
Be they relatives or friends or strangers.

Translated at Lundi Kotal by Captain Roos-Keppel and Qazi Abdul Ghani Khan, 10th June, 1901.

By the Same Authors:

A

MANUAL OF PUSHTU

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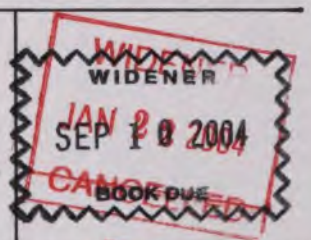
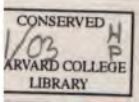
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